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Incorporating *Empire*

The Colombo Plan

IT is many years now since western politicians began to popularise the idea that the wealthy countries of the world must make, without expectation of immediate reward, a major contribution towards the economic development of technically backward countries. All discussions on colonial development, on Point Four, technical assistance, mutual aid and so forth depend on the single idea that the rich must help the poor. It is less often noticed that there is no more difficult task to perform. At home, the Labour movement has long been aware that the poor do not wish to be 'helped'—they do not wish to be 'the poor' at all. Their lack of gratitude has astonished the well-meaning rich for generations. A similar lack of gratitude will soon begin to dog the heels of the well-meaning Western democracies if we show in our handling of the external problem that we have not grasped that poor countries, as well as poor classes, have their pride.

There is only one way to avoid such a fate, and that is for plans for external aid to under-developed areas to be drawn up and operated jointly. *The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-east Asia*¹ has been drawn up jointly by the Governments of Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom. It comes as a breath of fresh air into the rather Victorian atmosphere which has hung around this problem for so long. The countries of South and South-east Asia are poor. But 'in another sense, however, these countries are rich. They are rich in the dignity of peasants tilling the soil, and in the wisdom of teachers and scholars. They also possess incalculable capital in the form of the traditions

of civilisations which are older than history itself—traditions which have produced treasures of art and learning and which still mould the minds and spirits of their peoples. The worst effect of poverty has been to cloud and circumscribe these human aspects.' Moreover, the poverty of the poor hems in the rich themselves. 'In a world racked by schism and confusion it is doubtful whether free men can long afford to leave undeveloped and imprisoned in poverty the human resources of the countries of South and South-east Asia which could help so greatly, not only to restore the world's prosperity, but also to redress its confusion and enrich the lives of all men everywhere.' The Plan has cleared its first obstacle.

The second obstacle lies in the lack of resources. India spends 2½ per cent of her national income on capital investment, compared with 20 per cent in the United Kingdom, and she cannot by herself find much more to spend. Malaya, Singapore, Borneo and Sarawak have increased their total revenue by 42 per cent between 1947 and 1949, and they have little slack to take up in taxation. Nor have they much capital available for local Government loans. In the words of the Report, 'a large part of the profits resulting from the sale of the main Malayan products do not remain in Malaya for local investment. Many rubber and tin companies are British and foreign owned, and their profits are transferred as dividends and export of capital elsewhere.' The recent tumult over the rubber tax showed the difficulty of tapping these profits in present conditions. Borneo and Sarawak are largely undeveloped. Only Brunei, with its oil royalties, is in a position to dispense with aid.

Where is the capital to come from? It is hoped that there will be private investment and that

¹ Cmd. 8080. H.M. Stationery Office. 3s.

the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has already lent India \$62.5m., will give effective help. Another major source will be Britain. Britain has already made a substantial contribution since the war in the repayment of sterling balances to India, Pakistan and Ceylon (£340m. was paid between 1946 and 1949), in loans to Burma, and in loans and grants to Malaya and British Borneo (£95m. since the war, of which half will have been spent by the end of March, 1951). We have already agreed with India to release sterling balances up to £210m. in the next six years, and with Ceylon to release £21m. sterling and an allocation of dollar earnings. Agreement with Pakistan is being negotiated. If external aid is forthcoming, and if the receiving countries are able to make very great efforts, it is estimated that internal finance available for the proposed programmes will be: India, £772m; Pakistan, £151m; Ceylon, £61m; Malaya and Borneo, £46m. The estimate of the total external finance required is shown below:—

	India	Pakistan	Ceylon	Malaya and Br. Borneo	£m. Total
Total cost of the development programme	1,379	290	102	107	1,868
Cost of capital goods imported for the programme	237	115	39	20	411
External finance needed—					
From sterling balances	211	16	19	—	246
From other sources	607	129	41	61	839
Total	818	145	60	61	1,084

If the finance is forthcoming, the plans, parts of which are already under way, will be proceeded with at once in the Commonwealth countries. But it is hoped that other countries in the area will also prepare development programmes and co-operate in a comprehensive attack on the problems of the region as a whole. Cambodia, Laos, Viet-Nam and Thailand sent delegations to the London meeting in October, and Burma and Indonesia sent their Ambassadors as observers. They have also been invited to join the Council for Technical Co-operation which the London meeting agreed to set up. Its first task will be to secure and co-ordinate the services of technical experts and to provide for the training of the many thousands of minor skilled men who will be needed. Training will be given both inside and outside the area, and the Commonwealth Governments have already agreed to set aside £8m. for it in the first three years.

The plans themselves concentrate on agriculture

and essential services such as transport, irrigation, electricity, etc., except in the case of Singapore, where housing and sanitation demand immediate attention. A serious attempt will be made to diversify the economies of Ceylon, Pakistan and Malaya, but there is no tendency towards autarky—on the contrary, considerable increase in world trade with the area is expected to result. It is hoped to achieve an increase in cultivation of 13m. acres, an increase of 13m. acres under irrigation, a 67 per cent increase in electric generating capacity and the production of 6m. extra tons of food grains. The size of the food problem alone is indicated by the estimate that with India increasing rice-production by 7 per cent, Pakistan by 6 per cent, Ceylon by 32 per cent, and Malaya by 77 per cent, 1,700,000 tons will still have to be imported. The figures are sobering, even if they can be attained. So rapid is the population increase that when all is said and done 'the programmes will do little more than hold the present position, but it will be apparent to everyone in South and South-

east Asia that progress is being made.' That hope is the justification of the Plan.

There will remain innumerable problems to be solved in execution, but the essential first step of estimating possibilities has been made. It must be followed now by a major attempt to bring home to the people of the participating countries the implications of such a plan. As far as the British public is concerned, a major economic effort is being demanded, for rearmament and other needs already compete with Colombo. The popular version of the Plan,¹ with its maps, diagrams and pictures and its imaginatively-written text, is therefore especially welcome. It should be found in every school, discussed in every W.E.A. class and in every Labour Party ward and trade union branch. It will reveal to the British Labour movement and to the British people as a whole some of the outside jobs to which we must set our hands.

¹ *New Horizons in the East*. H.M.S.O. 1s.

Comment

SMALL BEGINNINGS

FAR removed from the political excitements of the West African coast, a number of small beginnings have been made recently in the constitutional field. The smallest is in Rodrigues, an island dependency of Mauritius with a population of 14,190. Here the Magistrate is to be given the new title of Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, and he is to have a committee of 16 to advise him in his administrative capacity. The Committee will consist of the agricultural officer, the Church of England rector, the Roman Catholic parish priest, the resident representative of Cable and Wireless, and 12 Rodriguans. Slightly higher up the ladder comes North Borneo, which has been administered by the Governor with an Advisory Council since control passed from the chartered British North Borneo Company in 1946. Borneo will soon have an Executive Council of five officials and four nominated members, and its new Legislative Council met on October 31. It consists of ten official and ten nominated members with the Governor as President. The highest rung has been reached by Gibraltar, which elected five members of its new Legislative Council early in November, after a controversy with London of some years' duration. A penetrating comment came from the local correspondent of *The Times*: 'The voters are not electing a Government as in the United Kingdom,' he wrote, 'but choosing five men whom they think the ablest critics of the colonial Government. There are few differences in the policy of any of the candidates, and the issue is more a matter of personalities than politics. All unite in demanding drastic economies in the administration and the immediate introduction of social services.' The new Council, with an unofficial majority of two, was opened on November 23 by the Duke of Edinburgh, and provoked a storm in the Spanish Fascist press, which smelt an insult to Spain. Except that the Gibraltar electors voted by proportional representation, these three territories appear to have begun in orthodox colonial fashion.

UNO DISPOSES

THE United Nations General Assembly has taken another of its unhappy decisions on the ex-Italian Colonies. By 46 votes to 10, with four abstentions, it has decided to federate an autonomous Eritrea with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Crown. The Moslem population of Eritrea, who have consistently opposed union with Ethiopia, have thus been handed over by the

General Assembly, as the Somalis were handed over by the same body to the Italians. Power will be transferred from the British administering authority not later than September, 1952, under the supervision of a United Nations Commissioner, already appointed. The federal proposals will be difficult to work, but they at least have the merit of safeguarding Eritrean autonomy except in the federal subjects, foreign affairs, currency and trade. All inhabitants, including Italians and other foreigners, will be guaranteed full freedom of 'human and economic rights.' The British delegate had supported the union with Ethiopia of the non-Muslim provinces in the east, but not of the western provinces. The Latin-American bloc at UNO has again had its way. But it will be the British Government—if experience in Somaliland is any guide—which will have to sustain the administration till the transfer, and which, on the spot, will incur the odium of a decision to which it was opposed.

Arrangements in Libya have been much more satisfactory. Libya is to become a sovereign independent state by January 1, 1952, joining together the three territories of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. In this case, union is in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people. By mutual agreement, the British convention recognising the independent authority of the Emir of the Senussi has been cancelled. The ground had already been prepared by the United Nations Commissioner, Mr. Adrian Pelt, who had brought together a committee representing all three areas to agree on the basis of representation in a constituent assembly. The assembly, in which the three areas will be equally represented, will establish a provisional Libyan Government by April, to which Britain and France will transfer their powers in the course of the year. It will obviously be extremely difficult to sustain the new state, but the General Assembly has specifically requested the Economic and Social Council, the specialised agencies, and the General Secretary of the United Nations to give Libya all the technical and financial assistance required to establish a sound economic basis.

In its handling of South African issues, the General Assembly is the victim of the situation rather than of its own inner conflicts. The position of the South African Indians, faced with the imposition of apartheid legislation, has been discussed as a question of human rights. South Africa still claims that it is an internal question. Would other countries agree to have their internal problems discussed, and do they all observe human rights as defined by UNO? In the case of South-

West Africa, the same claim is made. It is a difficult one to answer, yet it would be an intolerable situation if on these two subjects South Africa continues to flout world opinion. UNO itself has a question to answer: if it takes decisions, is it prepared to enforce them? It is certainly not enough to meet annually at Lake Success and make declarations which produce no alteration on the spot. The whole issue is so complicated that it cannot be discussed here. *Venture* will carry a full article on the subject next month.

OLIVER STANLEY

ALL those concerned with colonial problems will regret the death of Oliver Stanley at the early age of 54. Mr. Stanley had worked in numerous ministerial posts elsewhere before he

was appointed to the Colonial Office in 1942, and his position in the leadership of the Conservative Party made it unlikely that, if the Conservatives won another general election, he would have been appointed to the Colonies again. Yet it was in the Colonial Office that he seemed to be most happy. He had the great merit—which is not very common—of being *interested* in the Colonies, and he had the good fortune to introduce the Colonial Development and Welfare Bill of 1945. In his last five years in opposition, he spoke constantly in colonial debates, and revealed a humane sympathy with colonial aspirations which set him apart from many on the benches behind him. This journal has often had occasion to criticise Mr. Stanley, but we share in the general sense of loss at his death.

TRADE UNIONISM IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

by F. W. DALLEY

In November, a regional office was opened in Singapore by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.). This action followed the presentation of a report made by a delegation of five experienced trade unionists sent by the ICFTU to South-east Asia. The delegation, which visited 14 countries, was led by Mr. F. W. Dalley, author of this article. Mr. Dalley has previously studied trade union problems in the West Indies and West Africa, and has long experience of the movement in Britain. He is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Fabian Colonial Bureau.

The principal recommendations made in our preliminary report, to be followed by more detailed evidence supporting the measures suggested, may be summarised as follows:—

1. That an ICFTU Information and Advisory Centre be established immediately with headquarters in Singapore; the centre to have jurisdiction over the whole of Asia and the Far East, but also particular responsibility for Burma, Thailand, Singapore, the Federation of Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia.

2. That an ICFTU representative responsible to the Singapore Centre be appointed in each of the following countries:

- (a) In India, with responsibility for India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Iran;
- (b) In Japan, with responsibility for Japan, Okinawa and Korea;
- (c) In the Philippines, with responsibility for the Philippines, Hongkong and Formosa.

3. That two Asian labour colleges be founded as speedily as possible, one to be located in Kandy, Ceylon, and the other in

Singapore; efforts in the initial stages to be concentrated on the Kandy School.

4. That the ICFTU undertake immediately an active programme of participation in the work of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), and also step up the press and publication activities of the ICFTU in Asia, stressing the positive aspects of free trade unionism and the leadership of the ICFTU in the struggle against the poverty and low living-standards of the masses of Asian peoples.

5. That the ICFTU request national trade union centres in those countries which have large-scale investments in Asia to undertake a vigorous campaign against the reactionary labour policies which characterise certain industrial, business and plantation firms.

6. That the ICFTU voice its grave concern over the current spread of repressive labour legislation in many countries of Asia which seeks to regiment the Trade Union Movement and tends to suppress the rights of trade union organisation and collective bargaining.

The delegation met with the most cordial reception in every country, notwithstanding—and perhaps partly because of—opposition and misrepresentation from the Pekin Radio and the local Communists. The general impression gained, after meeting thousands of trade unionists, speaking at about 100 workers' meetings, and having lengthy conversations with trade union leaders and with key officials in Governments and on the secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission was that, although the free trade union movement in South-east Asia is immature, it has developed into a force to be reckoned with. What rather surprised and pleased the delegation was to find that the prestige of the ICFTU already stands high and that while the strength of the movement is growing, that of the Communist-dominated unions has been showing a marked decline, particularly during the past twelve months.

Although paying tribute to the magnificent achievements of the unions—remarkable, bearing in mind the extreme difficulties and handicaps under which they have been labouring, including the (sometimes veiled) opposition of employers, indifferent and occasionally hostile Governments, as well as anti-democratic forces, Left and Right—the report stresses that many unions have little idea of collective bargaining, or of building up permanent organisations on sound industrial lines. All may be said to have been caught up in the great surge of nationalism and of demands for independence and release from 'the foreign yoke.'

(Incidentally, as a droll comment on Dr. Rita Hinden's experience as a lecturer in the United States, it is worth noting that in several, indeed most, countries, to the surprise and concern of the American members of the Mission—who had, of course, been brought up to condemn 'British Colonialism and Imperialist exploitation'—the United States, *not* Great Britain, is looked upon as the arch-imperialist and exploiter. We live and learn—some of us!)

Political Action

The delegation took full account of this pre-dominance in the minds of many Asian workers of political as compared with industrial activities. They did not decry politics or political action, but rather tried to show the necessity of making a clear distinction between trade union political action and allowing their unions to be used merely as the pawns of political parties, or of individual politicians, many of whom are solely concerned with their own political careers.

What was particularly impressive, however, was that whilst some trade union leaders had already

realised that emancipation was by no means a purely political issue, all, leaders and rank and file, manifested a willingness, indeed eagerness, to learn from the older Western unions. Care had, therefore, to be exercised and pains taken to bring home to all concerned that the ICFTU was not out to impose on Asians unions the detailed methods of British, or European or U.S.A. trade unions, still less to dominate the unions from the International Centre. Rather was it the ICFTU's desire and firm intention to give such help and encouragement as would enable the Asian trade unionists to build up their organisations, certainly on free democratic lines and in affiliation with the ICFTU, but also in accordance with their own best traditions and to meet their own members' needs and aspirations. We had much to learn from each other. Was there not a well-authenticated tradition that the Wise Men came from the East?

Apart from the idea of an Asian regional organisation as part of the ICFTU, no proposition met with greater appreciation and approval than the one to establish educational institutions in the region, which would be responsible for inculcating the principles and practice of free democratic trade unionism. To bring selected leaders from the Colonies to England for training in trade union history and industrial relations (as the British TUC and the Colonial Office are doing) is most praiseworthy, but this method needs supplementing by—or rather needs as a basis or groundwork—the education of the rank and file, and particularly of those who may be described as the non-commissioned officers of the movement, *on the spot*. This is fully realised by the ICFTU Executive Board, who have set on foot a detailed inquiry as to finance and personnel, and the best methods of implementing this recommendation of the delegation.

What is most gratifying to the present writer, as the chairman of the delegation, is that the sense of urgency which possessed the Mission as a result of their investigation, and which pervades their report, is fully shared by the ICFTU Executive, who opened a regional headquarters in Singapore last November, appointed an experienced Indian trade union leader as its head, have put in hand arrangements for the holding of a regional conference in May next, and for active participation in the work of the United Nations ECAFE, have accepted the other recommendations in principle, and only await the collation and presentation of details promised by the delegation (this work will probably have been completed by the time this is in print) in order that the most effective action may be taken.

METHODS OF ELECTION IN THE GOLD COAST

The new constitution for the Gold Coast has now been promulgated, and the new Legislative Assembly will meet early this year. This Assembly will consist of: 3 officials; 5 municipal members; 33 members elected by rural constituencies; 37 elected by the four Territorial Councils; and 6 members representing the Chambers of Commerce and Mines, of whom only two will be able to vote in the Assembly. In the December number of *Venture*, we gave details of the methods of election to be used in the case of the members from municipalities and the rural constituencies in the Colony and Ashanti, but not in the Northern Territories. We give below the details of the representation of the Territorial Councils.

The Gold Coast is divided into three areas, each with a regional council. These are the Northern Territories, Ashanti, and the Colony. These regions will be represented in the central Legislative Assembly, together with Southern Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, by 37 members. The Northern Territories Council will send 19 of these, the Ashanti Confederacy Council 6, the Joint Provincial Council (Colony) 11, and the Southern Togoland Council 1. The relation of the number of seats to the population of these regions can be seen from the Gold Coast Census of 1948, which shows that the Northern Territories (including Northern Togoland) has a population of 1,076,696; Ashanti, 818,944; the Colony, 2,050,235; and Southern Togoland 172,575. It will be seen that the Northern Territories have a high number of territorial representatives, because it was not considered that their people were at this stage ready to participate in the election of rural representatives on the same basis as Ashanti and the Colony. This view was fiercely opposed by Dr. Danquah in his Minority Report to the Ewart Committee's Report on elections, but the recommendations of the Report were accepted by the Northern Territories Council.

The territorial members of the new Legislative Assembly represent the 'traditional' element as recommended in the Coussey Report, though that Report specifically stated that they might be either chiefs or non-chiefs.¹ By contrast with the candidates for election to the rural constituencies, the territorial representatives must be natives of the area which they represent. A Colony representative must be a Paramount Chief or owe allegiance to a Stool within the group of States which he seeks to represent, or, if there is no Paramount Chief, he must be a member of or subject to a Native Authority. In Ashanti, he must owe allegiance directly or indirectly to the Golden Stool. A representative who was a Chief at the time of his election, who ceases to be so, must vacate his seat. Candidates must be able to speak and read the English language sufficiently to take an active part in the proceedings of the House of Assembly.

¹ They will represent groups of the small States into which the three main regions are sub-divided.

In the Colony, nominations will be made by State Councils within the area of the group of States for which a seat is to be filled, and the Joint Provincial Council, which represents all the Colony States, will choose between these candidates, giving each group of States representation according to provisions laid down. In Ashanti, nominations will be made by Members of the Confederacy Council, and the Council will elect from amongst them. An interesting light on Gold Coast custom is thrown by the provision that at any election meeting of the Confederacy Council, every Member of the Council may be accompanied by up to eight advisers from the Native Authority to which he belongs. The Ashanti procedure is based on the procedure for Legislative Council elections laid down under the 1946 constitution.

For the selection of their 19 members, the Northern Territories will appoint an Electoral College consisting of the Northern Territories Council together with one delegate per ten thousand of the population. Each delegate must be of Northern Territories origin, 'i.e., his father must have been of Northern Territories origin' must have been so long settled in the Northern Territories as to have identified himself completely with the mode of life and thought of the people; and he must have paid tribute tax. Delegates will be nominated by District Councils. Members of the Electoral College need not be literate in English. For membership of the House of Assembly, a candidate must be 'a person of standing in the community,' in addition to being literate in English.

The territorial member from Southern Togoland is to be chosen by the Southern Togoland Council in accordance with existing Southern Togoland electoral regulations.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA LAND: CHURCH PROTESTS

Southern Rhodesia has passed a Land Apportionment Amendment Act based on the recommendations of the Danziger Committee's Report, published in March, 1950.

Under the Act, the European areas will be 48,358,290 acres, the African areas of all types 32,353,826 acres, and the unassigned area 17,780,908 acres. The Danziger Committee reported that the total area of African Reserves was 21,127,040 acres, which, on the basis of 100 acres per family, meant that there was a shortfall of 2,370,760 acres. It recommended an increase in the native purchase area by about 1½m. acres to about 9m. acres, and stated that when both Reserves and purchase areas had been increased, a further 4½m. acres would still be required, making a grand total of about 39m. acres for an African population of about 1,800,000. In his speech on the new Bill, the Minister of Native Affairs stated that Europeans had objected to further alienations of Crown land to Africans, and that the Bill was intended as a final settlement (*The Times*, June 13, 1950). Under the Act, all unemployed Africans residing on unalienated Crown Lands in European areas will be removed to the new land allotted.

On June 15, 1950, the inter-racial Social and Industrial Council of the Anglican Diocese of Southern Rhodesia discussed the recommendations of the Danziger Report and submitted the following resolutions to the Government and Press:—

1. We believe that no one has the right to 'finalize' the apportionment of land. The door must be kept open for future adjustments to meet changing circumstances in the evolution of the population.

2. We urge the necessity of maximum security of tenure for all races in town and country, compatible with the principles enshrined in the Land Apportionment Act.

3. We are perturbed by the implied possibility of mass movements with consequent uprooting of Africans from area to area. Contentment and social advancement are seriously checked by such movement, which should be regarded as most undesirable and something to be avoided. Furthermore, such insecurity discourages sound and progressive agriculture and disintegrates tribal and religious life and the work of education.

4. We regard the practicability of the solution proposed by the Danziger Committee as questionable owing to the fact that large portions of the unassigned lands recommended for the allocation are at the present moment unsuited for human habitation and, so far as we can judge, are likely to be so for many years to come.

5. We strongly endorse the recommendations of the Danziger Committee in regard to the development of the Native Areas, thereby enabling them to carry an increased population.

6. We support the recommendation that Government should establish townships for African urban workers, with life security of tenure, and we urge that sufficient land be set aside without delay.

7. We believe that in the interests of the future spiritual, economic and political development of the country a new pattern for industrial development should be encouraged whereby industry may be increasingly decentralised.

8. We urge that provisions be made in all African townships for church sites as well as other public amenities detailed in the Danziger Report.

The Government replied refusing to change its policy and affirmed its determination to pass the Act.

NORTHERN RHODESIAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

On December 6, 1950, the Secretary of State made a statement on the Northern Rhodesian Executive Council. In this Council there are seven officials, three European elected members, and one unofficial European member nominated to represent African interests. Africans have been much disturbed since one of the European elected members was compelled to resign after disagreement with his colleagues, and particularly since the leader of the elected European members, Mr. Roy Welensky, made a statement in Nairobi that 'it was the viewpoint of the four unofficial Executive Councillors which carried weight and Government must accept policy put forward by them. There was, of course, the safeguard of the Governor's veto, but 'I suggest it would be a very brave Governor who would go against us''. (East African Standard, January 20, 1950.)

In reply to a question tabled by Mr. Keeling (Conservative), the Secretary of State gave details of the various government statements which define the constitutional position of the unofficial members. The full statement is printed in *Hansard*, December 6, 1950. Its main points are:—

STATEMENT OF AUGUST 17, 1948.

Released in London after discussions between the Secretary of State and a delegation from the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council, in which two Africans selected by the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia also took part. The Unofficial Members' proposals for constitutional reform were rejected, but it was agreed that the Executive Council should include three Unofficial Members appointed from among the elected Members of Legislative Council (all Europeans) and, as before, one Unofficial who would be one of the Members of Legislative Council appointed to represent African interests (also European). The door was left open 'for the advancement of Africans to appointment to the Executive Council.' It was stated that 'under the new arrangements the views of the Unofficial Members would carry the same weight in Executive Council as they do in Legislative Council, subject to the Governor's reserve powers.'

Shortly after this statement was issued, two Africans took their seats as Members of the Legislative Council.

STATEMENT OF APRIL, 1949

Issued in Northern Rhodesia after the visit of the then Secretary of State, Mr. A. Creech Jones. It stated that the agreement of August, 1948, was to be interpreted 'to mean that, without prejudice to the constitutional position of the Executive Council, the Governor will accept the advice of the Unofficial Members of the Executive Council when the four Unofficial Members are unanimous, except in cases where he would feel it necessary to use his reserve powers.' At least one of the Unofficial Members must always be a representative of African interests.

STATEMENT OF JANUARY 6, 1950

Issued in Northern Rhodesia. Refers to the resignation of Mr. J. Morris from the Executive Council. Mr. Morris, who was in disagreement with his fellow elected Members of the Executive Council, refused to resign, on the grounds that Northern Rhodesia was not working a system of responsible government with a party cabinet. Mr. Morris was dismissed after the Secretary of State had been consulted by the Governor. The Statement of January 6 explained that, except for the member nominated to represent African interests the Governor in practice 'appoints Unofficial Members to Executive Council on the advice of their colleagues on Legislative Council, but will be entitled not to accept this advice for very strong reasons.' In exceptional circumstances when a Member had lost the confidence of his colleagues, if two-thirds of the Elected Members favoured his resignation, the Governor would call upon him to resign.

On May 3, in reply to Mr. John Hynd, the Secretary of State said in the House of Commons that the Governor took the advice only of elected members (i.e., excluding the two African members) of Legislative Council when he made appointments to Executive Council or removed a member. It appears from the foregoing that in effect Northern Rhodesia has an Executive Council in which the elected members are held responsible only to members of Legislative Council of their own race.

AMERICAN AID?

In the light of events in Asia, the United States must clearly reconsider all its plans for aid to under-developed countries. Public attention is now focussed on the Gray Report to the President on Foreign Economic Policies. Mr. Gray advocates, in addition to increases in loans from the International Bank, and the Export-Import Bank, an increase in American grants and technical assistance to under-developed areas. Without public grants, he argues, investment in under-developed areas will remain financially unattractive, owing to the lack of essential services. To help develop these services, he recommends that the United States should increase their present expenditure on grants and technical assistance from \$150m. to \$500m. a year. What will be the American public's reaction to this new demand for American 'aid' expenditure? An American Socialist gives his views below.

The publication of Mr. Gordon Gray's report to President Truman on the future of American overseas economic aid came soon after the November elections, and was promptly overlaid by the serious news from Korea. It has therefore hardly been discussed in America. Nevertheless, what little was said gives a clear idea of the shape of the coming debate. Senator Taft, fresh from his triumph in Ohio, said it went further than he would have gone. This was mild criticism, coming from the leading conservative critic of American overseas spending. It indicated that disagreement was unlikely to be serious about the programme as such, but rather over its precise magnitude.

By comparison with the imaginative proposal of Mr. Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers' Union (CIO), Mr. Gray's requests seem modest. Mr. Reuther has proposed overseas expenditure of \$13,000m. a year, something like 5 per cent of the current United States national income. His statement, it is known, was read and annotated by President Truman himself, who takes a keen interest in this subject. But, with vastly increased expenditures on armament in the offing, it is more remote than ever from political realities. All branches of the American labour movement—the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organisations, and the independent unions—have welcomed the Gray Report and pledged their support to its proposals. They are insisting, of course, that the trade unions be given a voice in their development. There is no doubt that this will be done. Already Mr. Robert Oliver, one of the leading trade unionists in the Washington office of ECA, has been called by Mr. Ellery Foster, the new head of ECA, to accompany him on his trip to the Far East. American officials are alert to the value of their trade unionists in combatting Communism.

At home, the administration is likely to set up a committee to study and report on the Gray proposals, on which business interests, the trade unions, the farm organisations, and the professions will be equally represented. This is a technique which helped put the Marshall Plan through Congress. The persons selected will be prominent members of their respective organisations. In the course of their work, they will acquire an almost proprietary interest in the Gray proposals, and will become its enthusiastic protagonists to the people they represent.

But, of course, the ultimate future of the Gray proposals depends on the course of Soviet policy. If by some miracle the Russians should suddenly quiet down, the

attractions of economy and tax reduction might prove too much for Congress. If, as seems unfortunately more likely, the world continues in Soviet-inspired turmoil, further vast sums will be forthcoming from Washington. But economic aid, except as it is related to the increased production of strategic war materials, is likely to form a minor part of a programme increasingly orientated to military needs.

David C. Williams.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Colonial Development Corporation

Dear Sir,

You are very right to call attention to the fact that despite all the good work of the Colonial Development Corporation it has not as yet sufficiently associated the peoples of the Colonial Territories with its counsels. In West Africa I found that the very wise proposal for a sack factory at Onitsha could still be dismissed by the suspicious as 'a trick to get cheap sacks for UAC,' and I believe this is in large measure due to there being no prominent Africans manifestly associated with the planning of major policy. Even in the case of an African member of the Eastern House of Assembly I found that it was not known that the CDC does not pay any dividends to anybody ever.

I am sure you are also right to pick out the Niger Agricultural Project at Mokwa as the example of the CDC at its very best. The 'goodness' of this scheme consists not so much in the fact that prominent Africans were consulted about its major planning, but in the fact that humble Africans down at the 'grass roots' of social life are bound to be intimately associated with its development as soon as it passes from its present experimental stage.

There is something here which Tories cannot understand, as is shown by their bewildered plea that the projects initiated by the CDC, when once established, should be 'hived off' and thereafter run independently by or in association with private enterprise. This Tory formula (however unwise it might be) could at least be fitted into the circumstances of a project of an industrial nature. But (all question of wisdom apart) it could not possibly be fitted on to Mokwa. For one thing, the land on which the Mokwa project is proceeding *isn't owned by anyone!* This is something which no Tory can comprehend. There is simply an agreement amongst a large number of people about the way it shall be used. The same, I think, would apply to any large-scale agricultural project developed by the CDC in West Africa. The idea of the land of such a project being 'owned' by something which 'private enterprise' could take over or could be associated with is something utterly repugnant to the whole land-tradition of African peoples. If one wants to say something in the English language which would at least make sense in terms of African thought, then one would have to propose that the Mokwa project be 'hived off' at some stage and run by or in association with 'the Rural District Council.' As a matter of fact that is very close to what is actually proposed. But it has nothing to do with anything which a Big Business Tory could understand or approve.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Acland.

House of Commons, S.W.1.

Activities of the Bureau

Tenth Anniversary

The tenth anniversary of the Bureau was celebrated at a dinner in the House of Lords on December 4. The Guests of Honour were:—Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, P.C., M.P., Rt. Hon. Arthur Creech Jones, P.C., Mr. John Dugdale, M.P., Dr. Rita Hinden and Mr. Frank Horrabin. Lord Faringdon was in the Chair. Among those present were:—Lord Listowel, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Lord and Lady Strabolgi, Sir Richard Acland, M.P., Sir Geoffrey Mander, Sir William McLean, Sir Philippe Raffray, Sir Drummond Shiels, Mrs. C. S. Ganley, M.P., Mr. John Hynd, M.P., Mr. James Johnson, M.P., Mr. John Parker, M.P., Mr. John Rankin, M.P., Mr. R. W. Sorensen, M.P., Mr. H. W. Wallace, M.P., Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, M.P., Mr. O. Bassir, Dr. and Mrs. P. S. Selwyn-Clarke, Dr. C. Belfield Clarke, Mr. Andrew Cohen, Mr. F. W. Dalley, Mr. C. W. Dumbleton, Mrs. Barbara Drake, Dr. Elchon Hinden, Mr. Walter Hood, Dr. F. A. Ibiām, Mr. F. Jagge, Mr. Kingsley Martin, Mr. Morgan Phillips, Dr. David Pitt, Professor Margaret Read, Dr. Ganesh Sawh, Mr. F. W. Skinnard, Mr. David Williams, Mr. Oliver Woods, Mr. and Mrs. R. Wraith and Mr. Michael Young.

Mr. Frank Horrabin, in proposing the toast to His Majesty's Ministers, referred to the work of the Labour Government, which had so largely measured up to earlier hopes. In the difficult negotiations on the Far East, in which India was speaking as a free nation, all countries were reaping the benefits of the Labour Government's policy in India.

Mr. Griffiths, in replying to the toast *His Majesty's Ministers*, paid a warm tribute to the work of Frank Horrabin, under whom he had studied at the old Labour College, and to the Fabian Colonial Bureau. He valued the contributions of the Bureau and gave them his full attention. The Labour Government had given to democracy a definite meaning. Now when the colonial peoples asked for self-government they meant something more than the right to vote—they wanted all that was summed up in the Welfare State. One of the outstanding problems was to meet the needs of rapidly increasing populations. The economic foundation must be laid for the support of democracy, for unless the economic battle was won all else might be lost. The other fight was to establish organisation at the bottom. Colonial students were coming to this country and being educated at the colonial universities; they would become a well-trained minority, but the gap between this minority and the peasants and workers was dangerous. The increasing interest of the Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Movement was a most welcome help in closing the gap.

Mr. Creech Jones, who replied to Lord Faringdon's toast to the Guests, said that the Fabian Colonial Bureau had inherited the work done by the older radical and socialist movement. Frank Horrabin, ~~and Leonard Shaw~~ had founded the journal *Empire*, now *Venture*, before the war. As the official Labour movement became absorbed in the war effort, the Fabian Society initiated discussions on colonial post-war policy, and from these emerged the Bureau. During his period of office, Mr. Creech Jones continued, he had found the Bureau of immense value in compelling him to test his work in the light of his faith.

Dr. Rita Hinden, in seconding the reply to the toast, expressed her deep appreciation of all that she had learnt

through working with Mr. Frank Horrabin and Mr. Creech Jones. Before 1945, with Labour in opposition, their job had been to criticise and to express the aspirations of the colonial peoples. Then came the election of 1945 with Labour in power and with the responsibility of putting its policy into practice, the facing of not only what should be done but what could be achieved in the realities of this situation. Now come the third period when policy had been defined and objectives were agreed. This period ahead would be an era of unceasing vigilance to ensure that policy announced in Whitehall was in fact carried out in the territories.

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Tanganyika Land Policy

Tanganyika.

The Bureau is still in correspondence with the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the question of alienation of land for European settlement in

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Northern Rhodesian Constitution

As reported in our August number, the Bureau has written to the Secretary of State on the subject of the position of European elected members in the Executive Council of Northern Rhodesia. The correspondence continues.

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Southern Rhodesian African Franchise

The Bureau has written to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for information on the African franchise in Southern Rhodesia, following on reports that the qualifications for Africans might be raised. Any discriminatory legislation passed by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament would fall within the category of Bills which His Majesty might disallow on the advice of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

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Eritrean Independence Front

Following on representations from the Eritrean Independence Front, a letter was sent to *The Times* by the Chairman and Honorary Secretary of the Bureau, pointing out that there was a large section of opinion in Eritrea opposed to union with Ethiopia. The letter was published on December 9, 1950

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Bernard Shaw

Mr. Edward Pease, historian ex-secretary of the Fabian Society, points out that Bernard Shaw was elected a member of the Society on September 5, 1884, and became a member of the Executive Committee in January, 1885, not in 1886, as stated in December *Venture*. He adds, 'You made it two years before the Fabian pigmies realised that they had a giant among them, when in fact it was four months.' We thank Mr. Pease, but on our side point out that his *History of the Fabian Society* shows that the Society was born at a meeting in his rooms at which he himself was present. We cannot include Mr. Pease as a 'pigmy,' even in relation to the late Bernard Shaw.

Guide to Books

A History of Indians in Mauritius

By K. Hazareesingh. (The General Printing and Stationery Co., Ltd. 1950.)

We possess only very few colonial histories which have been written by colonials. Nothing comparable to Mr. Hazareesingh's book has, for instance, been attempted by the East African Indian communities, much richer and older than those of Mauritius.

It is therefore not to derogate from the importance of the book if we make a plea that future colonial historians depart more boldly from the traditional pattern of history-writing based on the Record Office in London. Hazareesingh has some pleasant pages on Indian (or rather Hindoo) festivals and pastimes, but too little local research informs the pages, which rather tell of the coming and going of commissions, the parleys and letters of officials and unofficials, as could be found elsewhere. I should have liked to know how the Indians have fared who came to Mauritius in the eighteenth century long before mass immigration started. How have the Indians changed in the period of their assimilation to Mauritian conditions? Is caste of greater or lesser importance than in present-day India? What is the importance of the communal factor? Although most recent events are dealt with, nothing is said about the sweeping success of the Indian candidates at the first popular elections. The minor defect of inadequate proof reading might also be mentioned. But if the proof-reader often nods, and not everyone will see eye to eye with the author in method and treatment of subject, all will applaud his straightforward English which is so well adapted to the medium, his visual imagery and his enterprise and scholarship.

Leo Silberman.

Seretse Khama

By Julian Mockford. (Staples Press. 12s. 6d.)

The writer's first-hand knowledge of Seretse Khama's country, its leading personalities and people, combined with a vividly colourful style, produces an important and fascinating account of Bechuanaland's turbulent history. Particularly important since this largest of the three British High Commission Territories has become the testing ground of Britain's policy in Southern Africa.

This almost up-to-date history of a country nearly surrounded by the turgid waters of South African racial and expansionist policies should be read by all concerned with Britain's responsibility in maintaining freedom and hope in territories under British jurisdiction. Unfortunately it is necessary that readers should guard themselves against the patronising, often superior, attitudes reflected in the writings of all too many White South African writers on African affairs. In this respect Julian Mockford's introductory quotation of Jan Hofmeyr's words is not without significance—'The important thing is not the native's inferiority, or his equality . . . what is important is just the fact that he is different from the white man.'

Is the writer's description of African characters, tribal feuds, witchcraft, slavery and barbarism meant to prove the Native different from the white man? European and Asian history completely shatter such illusions. Similarly,

while recognising the tremendous influence of missionary personalities and education upon Chief Khama and other leaders, the same influences at work among the mass of the people are not appreciated.

Keeping these defects in mind, Seretse Khama's tribal history, including fascinating accounts of his forbears outwitting Paul Kruger and Cecil Rhodes, black and white magic, the Chief's visit to England and interview with Queen Victoria, Seretse's marriage to Ruth Williams and its repercussions, make this book, apart from its topical importance, more gripping than most modern novels. The question as to whether Chief Seretse, his wife and family are to continue in exile the pawns of political expediency remains open. May this book stir our consciences to answer it aright.

G. R. Norton.

Behind the Colour Bar

By Dr. Kenneth Little. (Bureau of Current Affairs. 9d.)

In a short pamphlet Dr. Little has introduced most of the factors that influence the attitude of European peoples on the colour question. There is no question in the minds of those who study colonial affairs that racial discrimination is the most important of all colonial and Commonwealth problems. As the author comments, 'The political upheaval, especially among the colonial peoples, is largely in protest against racial discrimination, hence their interest in Russia and communism.' It cannot be too often said that political and economic progress will fail unless there is a sensitive and sympathetic approach to the ending of the needless humiliations inflicted by the colour bar.

Dr. Little discusses the successful mixing of the races in Russia and Brazil, and argues convincingly that 'there is no reason to suppose that racial crossing produces any ill effect.' One of the most interesting chapters gives the background of the present unscientific fallacies which govern our attitude to colour—the approval of the Catholic Church of the slave trade so long as the captives were converted, the need of cheap labour for the plantations of the West Indies and the Southern States of America, and the popular misconceptions of Darwin's evolutionary theories.

Dr. Little is mainly concerned with the colour bar as it affects Africans, and he has not discussed European and Asian attitudes. In East and South-east Asia the sense of racial superiority of the Europeans is countered by the Chinese consciousness of belonging to the oldest continuous civilisation in the world, and no sensitive white person can fail to appreciate that, to the Chinese, the Europeans are so often barbarians. The Chinese are eager to learn of the West in science and industry, but our assumption that political democracy and cultural values based on Christian civilisation should take the place of a way of life determined by different religions and historical experience is one of our major blunders in dealing with non-European races.

This informative pamphlet should be used in schools. It is the next generation, if the Commonwealth is to survive, who must implement Labour's policy, so often stated with so little effect, 'that no doctrine of race superiority has any place in our colonial policy.'

Hilda Selwyn Clarke.

Parliament

Labour Members have shown special interest this month in proposals for the development of education in Kenya. These proposals were made in the Glancy Report on European and Asian education in 1948 and the Beecher Report on African education, 1950. The recommendations of the Beecher Report were opposed in the Legislative Council by both Asian and African members. We give below the most important questions raised in the House of Commons. On December 13th Mr. James Johnson, M.P., raised the matter on the adjournment.

Beecher Report. Mr. Parker asked whether the Secretary of State was aware that the voting in the Legislative Council on the Beecher Report was 24 in favour and seven against; that the seven against were four African and three Indian members, and that one Indian and two Arab members had abstained; and whether, in these circumstances, it was the intention of the Kenya Government to implement the Report. In reply, Mr. Dugdale said that the Report would lead to a great improvement and expansion of African education at all levels with a greatly increased programme of expenditure. Much of the African opposition was due to certain features which they considered would adversely affect the financial position of African teachers. Modification of these features was under consideration by the Kenya Government, although considerable extra expenditure would be involved. (Nov. 15.)

Mr. Parker asked whether the Secretary of State was aware that African opposition to the Beecher Report was not only due to the salaries proposed for teachers, but was also concerned with the limitation of primary school courses to four years and the heavy financial burden placed on the African community by the building and equipping of schools and the increased school fees; and whether he could therefore reconsider its implementation. Mr. Griffiths replied that he was aware of the African criticism, but that Africans were not universally opposed to the Report and that it would be a severe blow to African advancement if the scheme were abandoned. (Dec. 6.)

Capital Expenditure on Schools. Mr. John Hynd asked what amount of capital expenditure had been incurred by the Kenya Government since the beginning of 1948 on European, Asian and African schools and institutes. Mr. Griffiths replied that the figures from the beginning of 1948 to the end of 1950 were: European £1,140,809, Asian £502,381, African £401,727. One reason for the large expenditure on European schools was that these years coincided with the construction of two large secondary schools on which £646,199 had been expended to date. These schools would provide secondary education for European children from Uganda and Tanganyika as well as from Kenya. (Nov. 27.)

Expenditure per Head. Mr. Parker asked what was the expenditure incurred by the Kenya Government on education per head of the school-going population for Europeans, Asians and Africans, respectively, in schools. Mr. Dugdale replied that the net expenditure per head by the Central Government was: European, £59; Asian, £14 16s.; African, £1 10s. These figures were misleading, as they took no account of the contribution of local Government funds to African primary education. The extent of the resulting dilution was shown by the fact that the net cost of an African pupil in a Government secondary school was £30. School fees paid to the Government per head amounted to: European, £46; Asian, £2 18s.; African, 1s. (Nov. 15.)

Racial Discrimination. Mr. James Johnson asked whether the Government of Kenya had accepted the

principle that no child should be excluded on racial grounds from any Government-aided secondary school in Kenya. Mr. Dugdale replied that differences in language and cultural background made it desirable on educational grounds to provide each race with separate facilities best suited to its children, so that the question of accepting such a principle had not arisen. (Nov. 15.)

Glancy Report. Mr. John Hynd asked whether the Government of Kenya had accepted the recommendations of the Glancy Report on European and Asian educational expenditure, and, in particular, whether the Government had accepted the principle that each racial community should bear the major part of the cost of its own education and that the allotment from general revenues to non-native education should be divided equally between the European and Asian communities. Mr. Griffiths said that the Glancy Report had not recommended that the European and Asian communities should bear the major part of the cost of their education. Its recommendations were concerned with the methods by which these communities could finance increases in the cost of their education over and above the level which could and should be met from general revenues and with the allotment between the races concerned of general revenue allotted to non-native education. These recommendations had raised wide issues which were at present under consideration by the Kenya Government. (Nov. 21.)

Scholarships. In reply to a question by Mr. John Rankin, Mr. Griffiths said that 38 Europeans, 24 Asians and 13 Africans held Government bursaries and scholarships for university or technical training in the United Kingdom. In addition, one African and two Asians held British Council bursaries in this country. (Nov. 22.)

Revenue. In reply to a question by Mr. Rankin, Mr. Griffiths said that the estimated rise in net recurrent expenditure from the Central Government on European and Asian education from 1948 until 1950 had been £68,000 and £79,000; that there had been no increase in income tax during the period. European primary school fees had been increased from £4 10s. to £9 per annum and Asian primary school fees ranging from 18s. to £3 12s. according to class, had been increased to £1 16s. up to £5 8s. for boys and up to £4 1s. for girls. (Nov. 22.)

Adjournment Debate. Mr. Johnson spoke on the allocation of expenditure as between the educational needs of the three main communities, and drew attention to the 'solid African line-up' against the Beecher proposals in the Legislative Council debate. He pointed out that 'it is the Africans who will be wearing the shoe.' They had put up 18 suggestions to the Beecher Committee, of which not one was suggested. Africans felt that by 1960, only a very small proportion of their children would be in school under the plan. He stressed the need for technical education and schools for girls. In reply, Mr. Dugdale said the aspects which had aroused African disagreement were being further discussed. Teachers and finance were needed, and the Government's were not complacent.

WEST INDIAN IMPRESSIONS

In our December, 1950, number we commented on the recent Report on Development and Welfare in the West Indies 1947-1949, which showed in terms of facts and figures the problems of poverty and over-population in the Islands. What do these problems mean in terms of living people? Dr. C. Belfield Clarke describes below his impressions of a tour in the West Indies, which he revisited after 25 years.

My first impression when I decided to spend the early months of 1950 in the West Indies was that it was almost impossible to get there. All passages were booked for months ahead. It is equally difficult to get from island to island, for aeroplanes are even more expensive than boats, and carry only few passengers. I went from Boston by a Canadian Lady boat, for this is the only regular service which touches all the principal islands.

The dominating problem of population pressure is most obvious in my own home, Barbados. I was struck by the number of young men and women wandering about in the towns and villages, apparently without work, but still appearing strong and healthy. The cost of living is out of all proportion to wages and salaries, and the price of houses fantastic. There is a terrible housing problem also in Jamaica, where the capital itself has a shanty town of unutterable squalor; in Trinidad, where some of the old plantation barracks are still occupied, and in British Guiana, where many of the East Indian community appear to be living at an almost sub-human level. Perhaps it is most noticeable in Jamaica, for here it stands out in contrast with hotels catering for American tourists at charges of £3 15s. per day (Kingston) or £7 a day (Montego Bay). Much is being done to improve such conditions in both town and country (I saw, for example, the Boys' Town experiment in Kingston and an excellent agricultural competition for youngsters at Twickenham), but the basic economic problems are of enormous proportions.

Throughout the West Indies, improvements in agriculture are urgently needed. More fresh vegetables and fruit are required, and an increase in dairy farming to provide fresh milk. It is a sad fact that nearly all the milk used is dried tinned milk. Meat is very expensive, and improvement in fisheries is needed. Some method of refrigeration, salting and smoking may make it possible to use up the surplus fish which appears when there is a glut, and thus tide over the months when the fish is scarce. That it often is scarce was brought home to me painfully in Barbados, where sometimes the fishing fleet would come home with little more than a few flying fish and dolphin. For this reason, attempts are being made to chart the paths used by the shoals.

With an old background of sugar and slavery, common to all these islands, it is easy to understand the lowering

of general morale that follows mass unemployment among young adults. Seasonal employment, with long periods of unemployment, is a problem in any country where agriculture is the main industry. Hence the urgent need for every possible cultural activity, for while it is true that culture requires a measure of leisure, there should also be the means to make full use of leisure. Here the British Council is doing good work, but it has hardly yet touched the problem of raising the standard of intellectual and cultural life. In some Colonies adult education is increasing, but little is being done in the villages. This does not mean that there is no cultural life. On the contrary. At one level, there is the new University, situated in Jamaica in surroundings of great beauty. At another level, there are Trinidad's amazing steel bands—one of the many signs that Trinidad has a population of great vitality which is making for itself a new West Indian type of life. There are also some excellent schools in the West Indies. Barbados has a good tradition of secondary education, and some very interesting work is being done there. We found, however, a shortage of science teachers, which we met again in Grenada. British Guiana was building a wonderful new school for Queen's College, and Trinidad has some excellent schools. But elementary schools are over-crowded, as they are throughout the West Indies, and there is everywhere a dearth of technical education. More attention will have to be paid to this if secondary industries are to be developed.

Other social services similarly require expansion and improvement. In medical work there is an urgent need for more and better hospitals, more doctors, nurses and health visitors. The villages in particular require more village clinics, and preventive medical work should be expanded. British Guiana's preventive work in combating malaria is an example of what can be done.

To improve this general picture, the West Indies will have to make a great effort. A high standard of integrity in public affairs is one of the really serious needs. A second is the death of what remains of the colour bar. A third is federation, with centralised planning and specialisation, combined with the encouragement of all local talents. This remains the best framework into which these Colonies can be fitted, and provides the machinery by which they can advance to a fuller, freer and more prosperous life.

For Reference

January, 1951

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